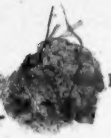

177 The ethnographer who works with a subjected people and attempts to recapture their vanishing culture must strive to set his findings definitely in time, to define for others the limits of the time-plane in which the customs described were known to have existed. Fortunately for those of us who have dealt with Yokuts culture the answer is relatively simple. The span of contact with Europeans and Americans, compared with that for some other regions of North America, has been brief, so brief that aboriginal life still flourished late in the nineteenth century. The majority of informants consulted in 1925 were born in native houses in native villages, and while outward destruction of their culture progressed rapidly during their lifetime, they thus not only had seen and experienced traditional Yokuts life themselves but had heard firsthand from their parents of the native ways then currently disappearing.

101 The civilization described herein, then,
131 is that of the early youth of living informants
177 and that of their parents and even grandparents, for often it was the grandparent who informed or instructed the young, for whom the old people's joy of reminiscence assumed a new and poignant significance in the face of their culture's palpable decadence. The years 1885 to 1860 cover the youth span of my older informants, the years 1860 to 1830 the mid-span of their parents' lives, and 1830 to 1800 the mid-span of their grandparents' lives. The bulk of cultural detail recalled was seen, experienced, or heard about in the years 1840 to 1890 approximately; in other words, it is Yokuts and Western Mono life of those years that we have recorded and described. Naturally, even in 1840 the picture was not uniform for the entire valley, for though the advent of the Spaniards on the coast in 1769 had not seriously disrupted native living in the San Joaquin Valley up to 1820, by 1840 the lake tribes nearest the Coast Range had begun to feel uneasiness and American penetration had started in earnest. By 1850 the stimulus of gold-seeking and land-seeking brought white settlers into the valley

101 to stay, and for the first time the foothill
131 peoples experienced the dismay previously
suffered by the lake tribes as the intruders
177 increased in numbers. Still, after the hos-
tilities of 1851 and certain dislocations re-
sulting from attempts to reservationize the
natives, a balance of peace between Indians and
whites was established and Yokuts life went on.
The villages in the foothills resumed their
habits and the displaced Indians from the
fertile strip between the lake and the foot-
hills straggled in for haven.

101 In the upper hills the Western Mono,[1] who
131 up to 1850 were entirely undisturbed by white
intrusion, were still not on easily friendly
177 terms with their Yokuts neighbors below them.
Even as late as 1870 a mutual antagonism was
648 manifested by both the Penutians and Shosho-
neans, although in differing degrees depending
on how far these natives were thrown together
because of pressure from a common enemy, the
American strangers. The Ghost Dance of 1870,
diffused into Yokuts territory by Mono prosc-
lytizers, was the first social affair in which
these two groups mingled freely, and even then
mutual suspicion was not entirely dispelled.

177 The outward similarities of culture now to
be found between Yokuts and Western Mono are
largely a veneer assumed recently by the latter.
To analyze both cultures for the segregation of
items into culture-historical compartments is
a formidable and intricate task which I do not
propose to undertake here. Yet some indication
of the major features of the question may be
given in brief.

Clearly the ceremonies which adorned and characterized Yokuts culture -- the Jimsonweed Ritual, the Rattlesnake Ceremony, the Annual Mourning Ceremony with its components of Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest -- came to the Western Mono only as introduced performances. Probably few Wobonuch or Wakaachi had witnessed them in Yokuts villages until, after 1870, they were free to go there as trusted visitors, or

[1] Including those called Northfork by Gifford (see Bibliography) and spoken of collectively as Monachi herein.

177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 613 619 621 177 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected by the whites, is the social organization common to both cultures. This includes (1) the basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 613 177 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the practice of redeeming the totem animal by purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 178 177 Another basic similarity between the upland Monachi culture and that of their valley neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward supernatural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 439 On the side of material culture a more even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

---

[2] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

177 known to have been recently adopted by the Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the
439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque hooded twined cradle which are now made by Yokuts women instead of being bought from the
[174] Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved, I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts foothills is a craft derived from the Western Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[1]

177 Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses
[342] and have made one innovation, at least, in adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[2]

178 Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River
171 Reservation; a few families have been permitted to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches of white landowners along the foothills. Some Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life shows in this existence, save for the continued use of acorn foods and the few implements needed for their preparation, and basketmaking, an art which flourishes because of tourist trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language and kinship terms are in use; family totems are retained, and official functions are aberrantly performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills.

133 Before entering upon the ethnography which follows, the reader should be familiarized with the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the environment of the upper and lower foothills has changed but little, whereas the great valley floor was unbelievably different in the past from the completely dry, hard plain it is today. There is no better way to present the picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses to speak for themselves. There were many travelers in the area who left records of their experiences with the troublesome mire of the tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada; but no account so well fits our purpose as that of Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850, made a circuit of the valley for military re-

---

[1] Cf. Teshopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[2] Dayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 595.

[3] E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
from growing specimens by J.A. The word ṭo´mul
262 is used to cover all green plant foods, but is
also specifically applied to all clovers, to
yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yɨt
ṭomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was
eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard
greens were cooked, and today bacon is added.
Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are
eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage.
A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but
unidentified, was valued for its seeds which
were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-
purple flowers, ka´syɨn, has tiny edible seeds
which are greatly prized; they are rolled into
a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly
red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu,
Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty
roots which were roasted and eaten whole or
mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower
(oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
were many others which must have been well
278 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
757 translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
● [177] the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the
plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or
spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of
which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and
used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains.
The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were
used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any
excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, al-
though M.G. claimed that they did not use it
ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially
and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the
mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly
man who did this became delirious for a day or
two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice
of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after
the skin about the fracture had been scarified.
Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder
when his clavicle was broken. Another man at
Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he
was badly injured by being thrown from a horse.
Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed
handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A.
Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called
snake's-urine (ya´hɨn ṭuyu´hun). Bird's-eye
(a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ɨn
tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-
penis (po´ṭolo kai´´iyɨn). Two kinds of "wire
grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the
other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the
words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
278 a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk
when mashed and which "had no flowers," was
boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites;
it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in
Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wɨtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Cowi´yɨt, was yo´weked, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

323 Pottery she had seen, but never saw anyone make it. Her mother made only baskets. One 285 woman, named Insi´ʔɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[767 838] Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the latter transvestites, tono´čɨm) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, 767 it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, otherwise they would die.

764 The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was W.li´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 49c] Tulamni

TULAMNI

177
114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Fages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Fages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

291
301 Dress.--Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Fages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair [854] was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.--Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Fages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Fages, x, 72-76.

[121] Fages, 49.

[P. 56a] Wukchumni
Western Mono NS25

Y
101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local
131 Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther
Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

y To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat-
[223 wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare
439] wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the
[222] southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

Y The Tachi from the lake bought burden
439 baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels
437 from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

● y
y
M Very little that is definite can be
● 177 learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe
[191] to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat-
M wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a
[105] village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure of white encroachment.

Y The Eastern Mono, called Mona´či by the
439 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders.
648 In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa´tat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

756 Watisti and his mother were among those at Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam [watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make [535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Garfield sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances" for an account of this entertainment.) No other dance or ritual was ever given at summer camps. J.B. said that they all returned to Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that there visitors could be accommodated and the location was secluded from encroaching whites. [177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no place to pasture horses; all the land was taken up by whites."

621 Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
512 call only three families. The chief there was Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the couple continued to live with Biseti's mother because "his father had gone to live with another woman." In another house lived an old man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife, Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet another woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi. The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai; his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named O´mo. L. said they had no children "because Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. Another chief, Ke´wič (John Davis) lived there, and in a third house were relatives of Jim Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano. Later Walai moved out there; and this chief Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who previously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister, female parallel cousin (called elder sister), her older brother, and her maternal grandmother all lived in one house. When her father was alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in a house of their own. Her father's mother, father's brother, and father's sisters all [361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establishments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers, or cousins, would build their houses close together." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would
423 stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not have special places to hunt food, anyone went with anyone else just as they wished." [A slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that women quarreled over their claims to berry and seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

292 The feather skirt was called čo´ñiš (M. and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] 237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´´ɨts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

293 In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills 237 (po´) surrounded with quail crests.

Necklaces (walat) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nɨt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 Paint.--Three colors of paint were used by 302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yɨn, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin- ● [177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chohum; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

222 252 262 salt and acorn mush. The Yokuts habit of going out to clover patches in the spring and there directly eating the lush tender clover growth led to their ridicule by early settlers who referred to them as being like animals turned out to graze. There is a reference to this practice as the favorite opening of a certain myth in versions from the Wukchumni, Yaudanchi, Yauelmani, and the Tübatulabal.[189]

Two other green plants named by M.L. were ida´ma ṭo´mod, "just like cabbage," and čide´d·k, "something like cauliflower"; both were eaten cooked.

According to M.P., any kind of green vegetable food was called ṭomod, which literally meant "greens" just as we use the word in English. She too mentioned kat·k and čided·k. Another plant, mane´ča ṭomod, was boiled and eaten when young and green. Later on the sweet ripened berries were eaten with salt grass which had been chopped fine.

Nočai´yu was washed, boiled, washed again in hot water, and then eaten.

[m] Mustard which is gathered, cooked, and eaten today, was not eaten at all in old times, said M.P. Its use is a white introduction.

Waša´wai, a wild sunflower, was valued for its seeds.

Ka´sy·n, the seeds of redmaid (a Calandrinia), were greatly enjoyed; they were sweet and oily and when crushed could be pressed into small balls, in which form they were eaten.

Ka´wa is a tiny brown seed, very hard to get: "you couldn't get a cupful in a month." Parched and ground, they were added to manzanita cider. (Kawa was also given as the word for yellowjacket larvae by M.L.)

272 262 A´ṗṭu (manzanita berries) were used only for cider, although a few might be tasted "just for fun." When the berries were nearly ripe and ready to fall, women went out and cleared the ground under the shrubs of twigs, leaves, etc. Then while one or two women held forth wide-mouthed seed-beaters or sifting trays, another would shake the bushes to dislodge the ripe berries. These came down in a shower "just like hail." A high percentage fell on the ground and these were picked and scraped up; a woman who had to work alone might shake all the fruit to the ground rather than try to catch it. Asked why they did not pick off the berries, M.P. said that that method was too tedious and that only berries ripe enough to fall made really tasty cider. Taken home in the burden basket, the fruit was freed as much as possible of foreign bits, twigs, leaves, cobwebs, or bird lime. The fruit was not rinsed in water "because that would wash the taste away."

Then the berries were put on an old winnowing tray and mashed lightly with a hand stone; some women "just squeezed them hard."

---

[189] Gayton and Newman, 68, abstract 57, note 2.

854 baby and mattress were both lashed to it by means of one set of cords. The cradle frame
335 (with its permanent mat) was called a ʻhi ʻl.č; the separate mat (mattress), even when the infant slept in it, was still called mat (t.ñi, the usual word for a tule mat). Such a cradle is shown by Kroeber.[203]

If the cradle needed a hood, a broad band of tules, vertically twined about every inch, was fastened on as an addition. Apparently it was not thought of as an integral part of a normal cradle.

● [177] The fan-shaped hood and lattice-twined cradle of willow are a recent introduction from the Mono. This information on cradles from M.L., Wukchumni, and M.S., Yaudanchi.)

According to M.L. and K.G. the forked-frame cradle was lathed differently for girls and boys; the boys' cradle had two crosspieces, the girls' but one. The single crosspiece arrangement permitted a bulging of the soft mat so the baby girl's buttocks would not be confined and would grow large. It is to be noted that no such arrangement is made in the recent twined-frame cradles. These, however, carry markings in accordance with the sex of the occupant, zigzag for boys and diamond for girls.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

436 The foothill people probably never manufactured money, although the intermediate Gawia would do so when they could obtain the raw material -- unbroken clamshells. A few pieces could be made out of the freshwater oyster shells available at Woodlake and in the slough region, but the greater part of the shell was said to be "too rough." Clamshells and money came from the Chumash, Salinan, and perhaps
[439] Costanoan peoples, passing through the hands of the intervening lake and valley tribes who in turn bought mountain and foothill products -- bows, fire and digging sticks, salt, and fine baskets. The various shell moneys were as follows: home ʻt.n (humna, humana, pl.), a long tube (1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches) made from the hinge of large clamshells; koikoi.č, a short tube (1/2-inch) of white, probably also a "hinge" and used in ornamental belts; moco ʻko, the small disc of clamshell which, in strings, was the common currency. European beads have
[177] acquired Yokuts names: in Wukchumni, hoi ʻyo is a small red glass bead,[204] and tedi ʻdiduš is a glass bead with the surface planed to represent cut facets.

436 The descriptions of the method of measur-
804 ing strings of clamshell discs and the values
435

[203] Ibid., pl. 40, m; mattress, pl. 40, n.

[204] Called in English "pomegranate seeds" by M.P.: pomegranate trees are grown abundantly in the Visalia-Lemon Cove district.

[P. 919]

526 In playing, if one man's chip was near the goal stake, his opponent would try to slip his own between them. If it was possible to carry an opponent's chip along with one's own, two points were gained. (The scoring and winning counts of this game were not clear entirely.) Four men sometimes played in opposing pairs, but never more than this. It was exclusively a man's game, as was the hoop and pole (J.P.).

525 Dice game.--This game (huču´w:č) was played only in the daytime and only by women (M.P., J.P., S.G.), although one informant (M.L.) said men occasionally played.

A coiled tray (koiyo´to), 18 to 24 inches in diameter, flat across the center and gently upcurved at the edges,[215] served as the base on which 8 dice (ho´wač) were cast. The dice were made from halves of walnut shell filled with pine pitch or asphalt into which bits of abalone shell were pressed. Since both walnut shells and asphalt are products of Chumash territory it is probable that the dice are a southern importation.[216]

[177]

In playing, the dice were gathered in both hands cupped together, raised about two feet above the tray, and cast not directly downward but with a slight sideward movement. As the dice left the hands of an adept player, she clapped her hands together, and briskly waved the right hand as closely as she dared over the settling dice. This stereotyped gesture was theoretically supposed to fan the dice into falling in the preferred direction. Both M.P. and M.L., blind as she was, used these tactics, which greatly amused Powers when he witnessed the game:[217]

> The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims yet´-ni (equivalent to "one-y"), or wí-a-tak, or ko-mai-éh, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting. One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face all withered, but with a lower jaw of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will -- a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of others -- after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate wiatak! It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

[215] The gambling tray differed in silhouette from the winnowing tray (tai´wan) for practical reasons (see fig. 3).

[216] The native California black walnut grew in Santa Barbara County and the southern California coastal areas (Jepson, 279). Pages (p. 75) mentions dice of snail shells; possibly this is a translator's misunderstanding. Tray, dice, and manner of play are well illustrated by Holmes, (pls. 40, 41).

[217] Pp. 377-378.

[P. 92 9]

525 Women:

oi yo no´ ma na ho we ha´ na·

Men:

hoi lo wi´ le hoi yo ho´ wi le·

Women:

me´ wal he yo´ ha we hːn nːm

Men:

mːn lo we´ ta pi soi lː´l hːn nːm

These phrases were meaningless to the informant who claimed they were "just a song," although the last lines have marked Yokuts attributes. The "ho we ha na" appears in many Yokuts songs and is analogous to the European "tra la la." When a guess was incorrect, the opponents sang jeeringly:

ko we mː soi yo ho we ha·´na

When the person hiding the bones was ready, he shouted, "kača´ta!" a kind of challenge meaning, "You can't get me!"

The Wukchumni informant, M.L., gave the name of the hand game as he´ne´´wia. Four or five persons played on each side. The guessers folded their hands over their eyes and sang while the hiders manipulated the bones (or sticks) under a cover, such as a deer skin. The guess was for the marked stick. The counters were kept by a scorekeeper.

Another Wukchumni informant, J.B., stated that this game was not "old time" but had "come from somewhere," which is consonant with Kroeber's statement that it is of less importance in south central California than in the northern part of the state.[219]

524 Various games.--Kroeber mentions the dice game of split sticks but does not attribute it to any specific Yokuts groups. He gives the name as tachnuwish, the sticks, of which there were 6 or 8, as dalak, "of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin."[220]

The cup and ball game, cat's cradles, and matching drawings were all known as pastimes but could not be adequately described by any of the Wukchumni informants. Arrows were shot at marks on trees, or over a certain treetop.

[177] Dolls of stuffed rabbitskins were sometimes made for little girls, but I suspect this is of post-Spanish origin. D. said that girls sometimes cut hair off each other's heads for these dolls, particularly that they would cut it from "some little girl that didn't know any better."

[177]

[219] Ibid., 538. It is possible that this game was introduced with the Ghost Dance. At the time of my field work I was not aware of the peculiar association of these two "culture elements."

[220] Ibid., 540.

825 just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 616] moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn [846] infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the 843 sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the 843 food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, 854 her mother or grandmother made the first cradle for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177] is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

844 and occasionally a boy's, afterbirth was buried in an anthill: if the insects ate it, the child would be industrious. The Yaudanchi followed this practice (J.W.).

The assistant washed the baby in warm water in a big basket and greased it on the back, chest, and stomach [kind of "grease" not specified]. A bit of red color might be added with the grease on the chest "to keep it from getting [a?] cold." The baby was laid on a layer of shredded willow bark, on a piece of old deerskin, wrapped in a blanket of feathers or rabbitskin, and tied onto its tule mat [553] cradle. It remained in this outfit constantly until it was named, about two weeks later, being taken out only for cleansing purposes.

Meanwhile the mother had removed to the heated pit. It was slightly longer and wider than her body and, when filled with heated rocks, ashes, bark, and mats, left its occupant at ground level. The woman lay face downward on deerskins. She wore no clothing save a belt and old breechclout, the latter loosely filled with shredded willow bark. The belt, opening on this occasion at the back, was tied, and the bark replaced, by the assistant. Deerskins were laid over the woman and for about one day she was surrounded with hot rocks laid on these and, in very cold weather, with a layer of warm ashes as well. More deerskins and rabbitskin blankets were laid over this. However, the upper layer of rocks and ashes was usually omitted. The baby was put with her. It was [853] given warm acorn gruel which it sucked off the mother's or assistant's fingers until the milk appeared. The mother drank warm water for a few days, then warm acorn gruel. She kept on this diet as long as she was on the warm pit.

She left the pit twice a day while it was being renovated and reheated. The length of her stay was, according to M.P., six days "when the baby's navel dropped off"; according to M.L., twelve days, the child's anatomy having nothing to do with it. (Again I feel that M.L.'s opinion is the older and more reliable and agrees with the data from neighboring tribes.)

An alternative to the use of the hot pit, or sometimes used in conjunction with it to discourage hemorrhage, was a steaming of the [314] vaginal tract with an infusion of redwood sap (ṭanal). A lump of this dried pitch was cracked up and dropped in a basket of boiling water. The woman fastened a rabbitskin blanket over her shoulders, and tied one or two deerskins under her belt so they hung from her waist; then she squatted over the steaming basket of medicine. This was said to be done each morning for six days. After the intro- [171] duction of European blankets the steamer surrounded herself and basket with the single large covering.

[P. 1039] Wukchumni

846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The [757] cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yɛt no´mčɛn, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po´ñoi nomčɛn, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not [551] have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi´ti lonu´wɛs) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

[805 177]

[238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

[P. 126 b] Wukchumni

175 769 161 [361] [342] I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the walk I took [around the village], and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo [561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for [252] the atoles of the guests, while younger ones were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

175 769 574 525 The visitors brought with them their own mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 ● 177 [532] Events during the six days of the ceremony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the first day or two (Monday and Tuesday)guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money could have them go into this fight if they
756 liked."
789 The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
769 and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´t:s was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´ḍṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokon:k, although J.B. had seen Ma´m:l, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the ceremony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana ñ:t. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around
[481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dow:š) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and
[198] beads for the visitors. The poles were carried in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the
[184] ritual was called ka´m:ts. This custom of tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was
668 attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holtuma maybe," from the northeast.[88] "He went

[text continues on p. 133]

[88] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

[P. 133a] Wukchumni Chukaimina

177 668 796 over toward Nevada every year to get the songs and dances which a man named Mo´man [Moman ?] was making there. He [Moman] was painted red." In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers would go north to learn the new songs from Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came south, which he did once or twice later on. The group of singers came back and held the first dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went "to near Lemoore" [Pierce's Ranch ?], to the old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon. They held no dances on the return trip. In several subsequent years they retraveled this route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore: "singers from there came to dances in the foothills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu Čui, and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and A´paw·č, Koiye´wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname) (all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo´suš did the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them [then].

668 796 The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago: J.B. did not know why. There was never any revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did not believe the dance was a preventative of sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a little fellow and went with his father and mother and boy cousin." He had three older brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that by no means did everyone go to the dance "though most did because they were afraid not to" [but of what he did not know].

[Text Continued on Top of P. 133b, --- Analyst]

CHUKAIMINA

115 The following information is regrettably brief and not always clear. The available informants at Squaw Valley were inadequately equipped in personality and language to discuss or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory. They were not able to distinguish clearly between events at Maštinao and those occurring at neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages. Neither could they get down to cases. For example, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M., A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given for the sake of complete record: only the moiety data can be used safely as it was rechecked several times for mutual agreement.

LOCALITIES

131 P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory

[Text Continued in middle of P. 133b, --- Analyst]

[P. 133b] Wukchamni Chukaimina

668 796 535 The dance was called soto·'tow:d kam (to-be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and] women, usually alternating, and holding hands, moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[385] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

[262] At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept, or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

[184] The Wukchumni informant L. said she had participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 668 177 M.L. said she was a small girl living at the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono" came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a — Aug 47]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Wakaachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

131 The following Chukaimina and Michahai sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).

361

103

1. tolsi'hao (Michahai)
2. takša'myu (Michahai)
3. buči'h:ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o'to
5. bo'kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto'no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

---

[385] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.134b] ChuKAIMINA

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and
553 was washed at a little ceremony called teša ´taš ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her husband's relatives. The mother-in-law and
[602] sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[386] The first (bi ´ˈ·č) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (aki ´l·č)· was the
● [177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown,
[856] which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.---All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[387] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.---A.M. described the women's dice game (hucu ´ža). The pieces used

[386] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[387] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 MS29 Yokuts MS29
[P. 143 b]
Choinimni

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 131 The Choinimni occupied land along Mill Creek from the junction of its north and south forks to its union with Kings River (see Local Map D). Above them on Mill Creek were the Entimbich, a mixed Yokuts and Mono tribe, and the Michahai, a basically Yokuts tribe who shared Squaw Valley with the Chukaimina Yokuts. From Sycamore Creek on Kings River, where Apa'wič was the Wobonuch frontier village, the Choinimni held both sides of Kings River as far west as Hughes Creek and perhaps a little beyond, where the Toihicha took up the north side of the river. On the south bank the Choinimni territory continued to Kipai'yu, their last village, which was fairly close to Centerville; there Aiticha land began on the south side and, on the opposite side, now somewhat west and south, were the Wechihit. This area is somewhat larger than that indicated on Kroeber's map.[1] The data for Mill Creek, I think, are wholly trustworthy: that is the locality P.D.W. knew best. His eastward extension to Sycamore Creek fits with Jeff Mayfield's statements for about 1850-1860.[2] On the west, Centerville as the eastward limit of Aiticha territory was a point on which P.D.W. was insistent; his location of Kipaiyu, however, may be incorrect, Kroeber's location being perhaps more exact. This still leaves it possible for the Choinimni to have dominated the river on the south side for some distance, that is, to about Centerville.

648 177 Prior to 1860 the social relations between the Yokuts and Western Mono were not so casually friendly, much less so intimate, as they have been in recent years since the two groups were forced into mutual contact by white 434 domination of their country. In the 1850's the Choinimni carried on trade, through a few individuals who seem to have been professional

[1] Handbook, pl. 47.

[2] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 15.

[P. 152 b] Choinimni

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance regalia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema).
796 Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him;
535 he danced "half the night."

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

796 Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (le'a'la) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušl:'l:n, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three [224] days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušl:'l:n most frequently gave this ceremony; Pušl:'l:n was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kapl:'l:n did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
796 Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance. [302] The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

---

[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, c.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 157 9] DUMNA

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times no doctor was bad because he feared that the
754 people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done
758 outside. If such a performance were scheduled, and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (samːs), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called miˊyːn waˊtiyː toˊse ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wačaˊm), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe ˊlːt aˊmam hačaˊkaˑːč" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyoˊwi kiˑka
haˊnaˑnaˑ
ṭeˊpi niˊhi ti (ṭːpni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ṭːpni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
● [177] nothing without singing to his ṭːpni." The in-
[237] cisions were made with a piece of glass and the "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

[P. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789 ko´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l:k) and supernatural power (t:pni).

[801] When there was a big rain and one wanted to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t:pni or
● 177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y:l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior
821 by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol:č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 Jimsonweed ritual.---Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

[42] Wobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe'biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

769 Crying ritual.---This rite (yuya'hixo) was performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate'ič) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

769 Washing ritual.---This duty (ɬpla'oša) was
783 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

769 Celebration.---Thereafter all tabus were lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

795 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
669 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su'yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo''oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Posgisa were gi''i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

scrape the berries into piles; then, dust and all, she put them in a basket.[35] The dust was said to prevent stickiness and dripping while the berries were being handled. The berries were winnowed by being tossed on the same basket, freed of leaves and twigs that fell with them, and taken back to the temporary camp in a burden basket. There they were again picked over for further cleaning and spread on rocks to dry.

When dried the berries were mashed on a special type of stone, thin, flat, and a bit wider than one's hand. The fruit was mashed, not pounded, to loosen the seeds from the skin and dried pulp. The mashing took all day. Then the mass was put on a sieve basket which permitted the seeds to fall through; they were discarded. The desirable part was sacked and taken back to the home village where it was stored in a dry spot. This activity continued for about one week up in the mountains.

When cider was wanted three or four handfuls of the berries were put in a watertight basket about one foot deep. After they had soaked a while they were squeezed with the hands to extract all the dried juices. A sieve basket was then set over the top of a larger watertight basket and the liquor and berries poured in. When the pulp was well drained, more clear cold water was poured over it very slowly. Then the liquid was ready to drink: there was a basket about one foot high, full of cider for the family.

Grapejuice, red in color, was made from crushed wild grapes and drunk at once, said J.R.

A tea was made of "peppermint," the regular mint plant, said N.W., which grew wild. The leaves were gathered, spread on a flat basket to dry. The dried leaves were crushed by hand and stored in a covered basket. Sometimes the plants were dried, then tied in bundles up in the house roof. When wanted, a piece was broken off and put in water. Mike Wyatt said he thought this tea was not a native beverage, although it was made when his people were still living in native-type houses.

A drink which J.R. called dowunnil was first used by the Indians when tortillas were introduced, which was a long time ago (about 1840-1850). It was thought to be "good for something in the stomach." The plant was dried and hung up in an undisturbed spot as the leaves dropped off too readily. A few leaves were taken when wanted and put in water. [This sounds remarkably like the "peppermint tea" described by N.W. The cooling effect of the mint might have been desirable with the strange tortillas. -- A.H.G.]

---

[35] The basket was described as 3 feet long and 1 foot wide, but this does not fit any known Yokuts basket type. It may have been an extremely elongated twined basket of the seedbeater type. -- A.H.G.

Medicines

278 834 757 Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. American [177] medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

[752] A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'ono[1]." It was boiled and the liquor washed onto the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

[751] To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not strike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

When they had horses here, they would go down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope (a ja quima, presumably). But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

Such raids were made occasionally in the summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

Chukchansi people used to go down to Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish were run through the gills by a withe, which was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

Children were named [by whom?] at about
553 the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
551 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name
● 177 had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

Mother's cleansing ceremony.---About one
846 month after the birth of the first child (but
852 not after subsequent births) a celebration was held for the mother by both parental families,
783 said N.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
431 which the paternal and maternal families were
846 preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,
852 baskets, and other treasures had been assembled by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,
783 and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was
852 still within the shelter, picked her up and set her on her feet. A large washing basket
783 ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 194 b] Chuckchansi

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about [177] 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separation. [55] [601] N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, [602] the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

[861] Parents made their children learn whether they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 887 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
[P. 196b] Chuckchansi

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing further could be done to save him, his attend-
764 ants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty
[157] minutes. There were four official singers who
[481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
● [177] the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the
178 established practice [probably about 1860, after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre-
[766] mated, according to Powers.[125] The old crema-tion place was g'o wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
[431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

---

[124] The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125] p. 383.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 202 b] Chukchansi

526 stood a post. Opposing players stood on each side of the screen and endeavored to strike the post concealed from them by tossing long spear-like sticks (longer than arrows) over the blind. The stick nearest the post won a point. An umpire (scorekeeper ?) stood at the end of the screen where he could watch both sides. The opposing players were named as a group, said M.N., one for a bird the other for an animal [moiety ?].

[292] No special clothing was worn for games, said M.N. All the games she described were [171] played by both Chukchansi and Miwok at Picayune and Ahwahnee. She mentioned here her grandfather, a Chukchansi, who later married into Anwahnee, a Miwok village (presumably to imply methods of diffusion).

524 The informant M.W. described games which she claimed were aboriginal but are suspect as [177] of white source, perhaps modified by acculturative processes. The first might be played anywhere; native names should have been got for the other two.

Throwing sticks.---Boys frequently played with sticks about fifteen inches long. They threw them about, one stick at another.

Jackstones.---Girls, very rarely boys, played with twenty pebbles. One pebble was thrown up in the air, another picked up, and the thrown one caught as it fell; this routine was continued until a miss occurred. The winner, who successfully picked up all twenty, had the privilege of thumping the loser twenty times, first on the knuckles, then on the nose (twenty thumps total). This made some girls cry.

London Bridge.---This was played by girls ten to fifteen years old. A couple stood facing each other, clapped their hands together. Other children in line, filed under the clapping arms, and the last in line was captured, if possible, by the couple. The one caught was then picked up by the feet and shoulders and swung back and forth until he named his family's totemic animal.[140] Those so caught were out of the game. When all were disposed of, the first couple was replaced by another pair.

If boys played this game, they did so by themselves. It was a favorite at large gatherings. M.W. had played this, saying it was known long before the coming of the whites. A song accompanied the game as follows.

bala'	bala'	'omis
clap	clap	mother

This was sung over and over until the last in line, off guard, had been caught.

---

[140] Does this imply a normal restraint in naming or telling one's totemic animal, or is it no more significant than if an American child were asked to tell his middle name?

[P. 203 b] Chukchansi

668
796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume [302] was still in use. However, in the morning after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Slokníč's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754
776 Several anecdotes of illness were told by N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

[439] [142]Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 2159] Western Mono NS 25

the passes were again open. The Waksachi never went east to trade; on rare occasions two or three young men might go over to visit as a kind of adventure. The Eastern Mono never came to social functions, the Ghost Dance of 1870 being the first contact of a social order.

The articles brought from the east to trade were: rock salt; pinon nuts; mountain sheep skins (diwe´s·p); moccasins; a sleeveless buckskin jacket sewn up the sides; leggings of foxskin cured with the fur on, which were worn tied above the ankles and just below the knees; baskets; pine sticks for lifting hot cooking stones; sinew-backed bows; unfinished obsidian arrowheads. Payment was made in humana beads and smaller beads, acorn meal, and fine Yokuts baskets. In later days red beads and Spanish blankets were wanted by the Eastern Mono.

When the Waksachi were encamped at Gaines Flat, the Telamni, Gawia, and other valley dwellers would come up to get stone mortars and pestles. They asked the Waksachi to sell those very things they were using; the Waksachi never took any others along for trade. (Perhaps this relieved them of the burden of carrying them home on the upward journey, having had their use of them.) B.O. here interposed a description of the Telamni mortar, which was made from the crotch of an oak tree. The Telamni also wanted small stone mortars of the type used for tobacco. While they wanted stone mortars for themselves, they, in turn, sold their oakwood mortars to the Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol of the lake region.

Warfare

B.O. stated that the Wechihit, Choinimni, and Hoshima (Northerners in general) would come over jointly to fight the allied Waksachi and Wukchumni. These fights were rare and were tactically simple; they were called una´na pi´dikan. There were no special officers of war, but certain brave men would be acknowledged leaders on these occasions. The leader stood back and directed the fighting while the opposing warriors lined up, each man shooting at the one directly opposite. Bows and arrows were the only weapons; no spear or shield was used. There was no waiting for a dream or omen before going into conflict. The causes of these hostile interludes are obscure.

Raiding for horses became a favorite aggressive activity after their introduction by the Spanish on the coast; they were available in the valley in, roughly, 1800 and after. Four or five men would go west to the valley plains, and probably to the enemies mentioned above, to steal a horse, which they would then lead off, kill, cook, and eat. The Waksachi never stole from the Wukchumni. There is a strong desire for horse ownership among these people even at the present time, 1927.

from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ʼiwaʼlinwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu mi naliinwa tsatsa mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.252] Western Mono - S25
W
Y
769
783
556

within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W
Y
668
796
[177]

The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W
Y
[177]

The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W
Y
[624
574]

The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

---

[199]Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

seem to have owned a small tract on the south side of the stream. Hapasau, near Fresno Flats, was, however, Chukchansi. Also well up on Fresno River was Chukchanau or Suksanau, "Chukchansi place." On Coarse Gold Creek they inhabited Tsuloniu, near the headwaters; Kowoniu or Kohoniu, on Picayune Creek; Katanlu, the present Picayune rancheria, where the majority of the survivors dwell; and, on Cottonwood Creek, they lived at Ch'eyau, "bone place," near Bates.

It is possible that place names like Kochoy-u, Dalin-au, Chukchan-au are original and that the tribal names Kechayi, Dalinchi, and Chukchanchi are derived from them. However, none of these place names yield to etymology, whereas many that are not related to tribal names do have meanings.

TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Yauelmani, Ya'welmani, Yowelmani, Yowenmani, Yowedmani, which forms appear to be the plural of Yaulamni or Yaudimni, perhaps number more survivors to-day than any other Yokuts tribe. Their ancient range was extensive. They held Tiniiu ("at the hole") on Paso Creek below the Tejon ranch house—perhaps the most southerly of all Yokuts settlements. This must have been a favorite abode, since it gave them the appellation Tiniinin, which, together with "Tejoneños," is still used as a synonym of Yauelmani. With this spot went ownership of the lower courses of Tejon and other near-by streams. Thirty or more miles to the north they held Wollo ("planting place," "sowing place"—the name was given after mission influences began to reach them), on the site of the town of Bakersfield. Up Kern River they lived at times at K'ono-ilkin ("water's fall") and at Shoko ("wind place," in a gorge), above which began the territory of the Tübatulabal, whom they knew as Pitanisha. These spots were also frequented by the Paleuyami across the divide on near-by Poso Creek, and it is not certain which tribe laid claim of ownership to them. A short distance above Bakersfield in the first foothills was Tsineuhiu ("at the shades" or "ramada place"), not permanently inhabited, but a favorite day resting place between night journeys in the summer; while below the city, on one of the channels of the river draining toward Kern Lake, was Kuyo. The Yauelmani are also mentioned as at Altau with the Paleuyami, at Hoschiu on White River with the Kumachisi, and at Chididiknawasi in the Deer Creek country—all places above the valley. It is therefore not surprising that there are old Indians, born, before the coming of the Americans, of a Yauelmani parent married to a Yaudanchi or Wowol partner. Unions with the Shoshonean Kitanemuk to the south and Bankalachi to the north also occurred.

The Koyeti or Kuyeti (plural Koyetati or Kuyetwadi), now extinct, seem to have been a smaller tribe of almost identical speech with the Yauelmani. They held the swampy sloughs of Tule River from Chokowisho, Porterville, down; this tract being known as Kiawitnau.

The Choinok (plural Choyenaki), the Choinoc of Garcés and Cabot, another small group, were the southernmost of three tribes in the flaring, slough-intersected delta of the Kaweah. They lived south of Tulare City and below Farmersville, probably on Deep and Outside Channels, in which region their town of Ch'iuta may be looked for.

The Wo'lasi or Wo'ladji (plural Wowulasi, Wowelasi, Wowiasi) were north of the Choinok, at and below Farmersville, perhaps on Cameron Channel. This small tribe must not be confused with the more prominent Wowol (plural Wowowoli) of Tulare Lake.

The Telamni, Telomni, Tedamni (plural Tielami, Tielamni, Tiedami, Tiedamni, or Teyelamni), the "Telam or Turim" of Garcés and Telame of the

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

of the San Joaquin Valley floor but their extension into the hills is of the slightest. The higher Sierra Nevada everywhere, and the lower slopes in the north, are in the possession of alien nations.

Equally significant is the almost perfect correspondence between topography and speech. The valley dialects are absolutely confined to the plains, except for a small part of the range of the Yauelmani in the extreme south. The foothill group of dialects is restricted with equal exactness to the hills, except where the three southwestern tribes, finding the lee side of the Coast Range too barren for their subsistence, appear to have come down into the adjacent tule swamps. The correlation between speech and soil surface is so rigid that causes of such potency must be inferred to have been operative as could scarcely have prevailed to this extent among the Yokuts without being of some influence elsewhere. Indeed it seems, as already pointed out, that lines of dialectic cleavage followed the edge of the plains in the Sacramento Valley, among Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun. On the other hand, it is dangerous to reason from the mass conditions of the great valley, flanked by the massive, unbroken wall of the Sierra, to circumstances obtaining in regions of more irregular topography. Several Pomo dialects, for instance, extend practically unchanged over belts of coast, timber, valley, mountain, and inland waters.

It is also clear from Figure 43 how much more diversified the foothill tribes were than those of the valley. Holding barely a fifth of the area of the stock, they comprised about one-half of the tribes, and five out of seven of its dialect groups. The diversity of surface in the hill country is only partially responsible. Of more moment, probably, is the fact that the foothill tribes, happening to constitute a fringe, were thrown into more intimate contact with their alien neighbors dwelling higher on the same slope of the Sierra Nevada, and thus had stimulated in them those unconscious influences toward change of language that only association with the foreigner seems to bring.

It is difficult to look at this map, with its enormous solid nucleus of valley, and defend oneself from the impression that this is the original home of the Yokuts group, and that the border foothill tribes represent an upland spilling over. This would be contrary to the view sometimes entertained that the Yokuts once occupied the entire basin to its summit, and were in process of being gradually driven to the center by Shoshonean pressure. From the Yokuts side the appearance is rather of an expansion of this stock and a pushing back of Shoshoneans who previously might have held all of the mountains and perhaps the southern end of the valley.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to decide. Either alternative looks plausible as the evidence is approached from one aspect or the

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 other. What is most likely is that a condition nearly of equilibrium
197 between the two stocks has been maintained for a long time. The four or five Shoshonean divisions of quite diversified speech did not all crowd westward over the watershed in any short period; nor did the specialized Yokuts foothill dialects, no matter how much effect we allow to topography and foreign association, spring up in two or three centuries.

DESIGNATIONS OF THE STOCK.

101 The name "Yokuts" is taken from a native word for person or people, appearing as *yokoch* and in similar forms in a number of the dialects of the stock. The Spanish Tulareños, "people of the rush marshes," coincides very closely with modern Yokuts in its ethnic application. Mariposan is a book name, happily moribund, since it is equally arbitrary and erroneous. The Indians of Mariposa County are Miwok, not Yokuts. Foreign Indian names are few. The Costanoans at San Juan Bautista called the Yokuts Yawisun; the Chumash of Ventura, Chminimolich, "northerners"; the Mohave, Kwalinyo-kosmachi, "tule sleep."

YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIA POPULATION.

161 The problem of the size of Yokuts' population is crucial for the question of what the number of California Indians may have been, but unfortunately it seems impossible of entirely accurate solution.

The prime factor of uncertainty is the size of the tribe. Two hundred and fifty souls seems an overconservative estimate. There may have been tribes that surpassed 500. On the other hand, this latter figure appears to be excessive as an average. It is difficult to say why, in the absence of any evidence bearing directly on the point; but the nature of the country, the descriptions of travelers, and the Indians' statements as to their great-grandfathers' customs, somehow leave the impression that the Yokuts tribe did not so very much exceed the usual California village community in populational strength. But again, the consistent adherence to the principle that each tribe possessed its peculiar dialect warns against setting the figure very low. Three to four hundred persons is perhaps the soundest estimate that can be made, and with 50 or nearly 50 tribes, this would yield from 15,000 to 20,000 souls for the entire group.

161 Mission records are of little aid, for although there were Yokuts
● 177 at nearly all of the church establishments from San Luis Obispo
797 to San Francisco, and a number of tribal names can be recognized, statistics are for the total at one mission at one time. San Antonio may have harbored more Yokuts than Salinan neophytes when secularization came, but the proportions of the two national elements are obscure. It also seems impossible to ascertain how exhaustively the Franciscans drew upon the tribes that they tapped,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

or how long certain of these were under mission influence. There were Tachi brought across the mountains, but whether the whole tribe was moved or only a fraction, whether it remained a generation or only a few years, no one seems able to say. It is only known that the valley tribes from about the Fresno River northward were removed and missionized almost completely, and that their early virtual extinction was due to the effects of this process.

Nor do figures for the twentieth century population of the stock yield any approach to fixed conclusions for the eighteenth. The Federal census of 1910, the first that attempted to concern itself with such matters, reports only 533 Yokuts. The most widely spread stock in California, after the Shoshonean, to-day ranks twelfth in numbers. Not only Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun, but small localized groups like the Yurok, Karok, and Washo surpass the Yokuts. However much the estimate of original population be scaled down, it is evident that factors of most unfortunate potency have been at work. One such, and of proved fatality, is the concentration of mission life; but it is insufficient, for the southern and eastern Yokuts escaped it. It was apparently their open valley habitat, or at best hill abode, that crushed the Yokuts, through making them more readily and unmitigatedly accessible to the white man. In the mountains, civilization advanced slowly, or receded after the first rush of miners. The Indian shrank back, but had numberless corners left to himself. In the plains, the farmer followed hard on the pioneer, the soil was broken, fences began to stretch, and before long railroads ran their course and cities flourished. There was no way for the native to escape the full brunt of civilization; and it melted him away. In the Sacramento Valley the Plains Maidu and Wintun have vanished, compared with their fellows in the hills. Against 600 Sierra Miwok there are not two dozen of the plains division. More distinctively a lowland people than any of these, the Yokuts as a whole have been more reduced. All they have preserved better is the purity of their blood. The infrequency of half-breeds among them is noticeable; and the census that makes one-half or more of the Wintun, Maidu, and Miwok population mixed blood, credits at least three-fourths of the Yokuts with purity of strain.

If any doubt remains as to the strength of the factor of proximity to centers of Caucasian population, in rapidly diminishing Indian numbers, the Mono clinch the argument. Eastern neighbors of the Yokuts in the higher Sierra and the desert beyond it, they numbered at most a quarter or a third, perhaps not a fifth as many. To-day they are the largest group in California, and total nearly three souls for every living Yokuts.

The survivors, then, tell us nothing of the strength of their ancestors, because the wastage has been too excessive. The fragments are

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

MYTHOLOGY.

773 776 Yokuts mythology lacks the organization and leaning toward spirituality that characterize native beliefs in the region of the Sacramento Valley. Traditions are not built into a system, and speculation as to the mystery of the world and life is not even naïvely profound. The creators are all animals, with the Eagle at their head as wise and dignified chief. The Coyote is his presuming assistant, often ridiculous, at times inefficient; on other occasions, when not in direct competition with his chief, possessed of strange powers. He brings disaster into the world only rarely; death is the result of the Meadowlark's folly, or the desire of the insect Kokwiteit; but Coyote assents. He aids in securing fire, in stealing the sun for the future world, and advises the Eagle to send the Duck to dive for the earth from the primeval stump which alone projects from the universal first water. A favorite figure is *Limik*, the swiftly swooping Falcon, silent, determined, wise, a warrior, whose only food is tobacco, and whose supernatural abilities are great; but a victim in gambling. His coadjutor is his friend the Raven. The Condor is a plotter, a cannibal and robber, but he is overcome by the Falcon, and by the Eagle when he threatens the latter's supremacy. The Owl is a powerful shaman, the Antelope the swift runner who wins from Deer and helps to steal fire. The Hummingbird is Coyote's son, who excels his makeshift father.

This animal pantheon, varied and distinctive as it is, seems strange as set against the more abstract deities of the Maidu, the Wintun, and the Yuki; or had this aspect as long as it was believed that the Miwok alone observed totemism. Now that it is known that this set of beliefs extends to most of the Yokuts also, their traditions, uncoordinated as they remain on the surface, are perhaps more than mere fanciful beast fables, and may fit into a scheme more or less allied to the totemic classification and its connected dualistic plan of chieftainship, marriage, and ritual.

776 171 The southern Californian concepts of the god that dies—Wiyot, Matavilya, Tuchaipa—of the first Sky father and Earth mother; and of the birth and wanderings of mankind; together with many associated episodic incidents, are all lacking among the Yokuts—totally, it would appear. It is clear that mythically a sharp cleavage separates the San Joaquin Valley from the southern end of the State, and that the southwestern influences which have so profoundly permeated the tribes of the latter region, both in traditions and ritual, have not transcended the barrier of the Tehachapi.

The Yokuts Jimson weed puberty rite has already been referred to as of southern origin. The most specific development of this religion, however, a later cult developed by the Gabrielino and spread

[171]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity Chungichnish or any equivalent.

On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following:

Do you see me!
See me, Tūtūshūut!
See me, Pamashūut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, "maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 262 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket, [251 343] pounded into flour, and cooked.

Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

[415 324] Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though described as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregularly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulosun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

[415 177] The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts implement, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 171 Chemehuevi forms are rounder, while the farthest traceable affinity is the small spherical basket of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. It is therefore possible to set the focus of the constricted neck forms among the southern Yokuts or the Chumash. As between these two groups, general grade of culture favors the Chumash, while the Yokuts are more central in the distribution of the type. The northern Yokuts, on and near the San Joaquin, do a much poorer grade of work than their southerly kinsmen, as do the Mono. But the Tübatulabal approximate the Tulare-drainage Yokuts in fineness of execution.

292 285 [482] The woman's basket cap was probably Yokuts. At least the southern Yokuts seem to have shared it with their southern and eastern Shoshonean neighbors. This hat was, however, worn only with a load on the back, not habitually. It is curious that the range of the southern California cap coincides with that of the carrying net; of the northern form, with the technique of exclusive twining.

285 [53] The pattern scheme of Yokuts baskets varies from the prevailing horizontal banding of southern California to the diagonal, vertical, and broken effects of Miwok basketry—largely according to locality. Materials and technique are also intermediate. The sewing is close, as in the north; in the Shoshonean area to the south, wider spaced. The foundation is a bundle of *Epicampes* grass, as in southern California; the wrapping, however, is not *Juncus*, as there, but more woody materials: root fibers of sedge (*Carex* or *Cladium?*) for the ground color, *Pteridium* fern root for black, bark of *Cercis* or redbud for red.

Very flat trays were made in coiling. The banded decoration of these brings them nearer Cahuilla and Luiseño ware than Maidu, where radiating designs prevail in flat work. Miwok coiled trays have gone out of use, if they were ever made. Yokuts women employed the finest of their trays for dice throwing; but of course the type was also put to more lowly and daily service. [525]

Twined baskets were more poorly made, but filled a greater variety of needs and perhaps outnumbered coiled pieces in the normal household. The carrying basket was loose enough in texture to be describable as openwork. The interstices were filled with a mucilaginous smear. The commonest of all receptacles is an oval or ovate tray, with a rounding bottom. The term "winnower" describes only one of its manifold uses. The seed beater was but such a tray, one end of which was continued to a handle. Another form of tray was rounded triangular, nearly flat, and wholly or partly in diagonal twining. This has almost certainly been borrowed by the Yokuts from the Shoshoneans on their east. The Tulare Lake tribes must once have possessed a considerable array of special ware in [177]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Many of the Yokuts tribes did not come in contact with whites and were not seriously disturbed by western immigration until as late as the early 1860's. This is probably not true to the same extent of so numerous a group of people at any place within our nation. By 1860 many tribes of the eastern and southwestern United States had been disturbed for 250 years. For this reason the leading scientific institutions of the United States are hurrying to gather all possible information concerning these people before the last remnants of the older generation have passed away.

It is fortunate that the names of a number of the San Joaquin Valley tribes have been preserved, we hope for all time, in the names of some of the rivers and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley. The most northerly of these is the *Cosumne* river. Near it lies the *Mokelumne,* and farther south the *Tuolumne, Chowchilla,* and *Kaweah.*

A few other landmarks have been knowingly or unknowingly named after Indian tribes. *Tehachapi* Valley probably took its name from the native word, *Tah-hi'tch* or *Tah-heetch,* meaning Oak Covered Valley. The Wahtoke district east of Sanger was named for *Wahtoke,* who was chief of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on Kings River. The Wukchumne Irrigation District and Wukchumne Hill east of Visalia were named for the *Wukchumne* tribe, full-blooded remnants of which still reside on the Kaweah River east of Visalia. Camp Potwishi in Sequoia National Park, was named for the *Pahdwishi* (Pahd'-wih-she) tribe which once lived there. Yokohl valley northeast of Exeter was named for the *Yokodo* tribe, which once occupied it. The Laguna de Tachi Land Grant, surrounding present Laton, was named for the Tachi tribe of Yokuts.

At the coming of the first American settlers, as early as 1850, and probably long before that time, there were no living Indians occupying the entire west side plains, from Byron on the north to Paleta in Kern County, where the Santa Maria road crosses the Coast Range via Maricopa and the Cuyama Valley.

The remains which characterize an Indian occupation are quite common throughout the entire west side area. These remains are in the nature of depressions left by their houses or tepes, burial grounds, and debris-scattered camp sites. Throughout this territory thousands of stone implements and weapons have been found, showing that from time to time

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade.

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains.

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made."

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity.

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

near Aukland. In an old cemetery on Grizzly Gulch, about on a line between the villages of Woody and White River, I found both yellow and red pigment in standard sized balls.

If the uniform size of the above findings is to be considered as more than purely coincidental they show a remarkable spread of standardization.

YOKUTS TRADE AND TRADE ROUTES

From widely scattered specimens of paint pigment, pipestone, and other objects easily identified as having come from specific localities, it is well known that the North American Indians had established extensive trade routes. From a grave near Dunlap in eastern Fresno County was taken a remarkable piece of pottery, a water jar of fired red clay, having on top a well modeled human head, and around the sides five openings. This jar was identified by Dr. F. [illegible] Hodge, Director of the Southwest Museum, Pasadena, as p[illegible] being of *Mojave* manufacture. It was probably traded t[illegible] *Entimbits* Yokuts from the Mojaves.

In my own collection is a small decorated clay pitcher and a decorated clay pipe. The pitcher was excavated by a Tulare resident in an Indian burial ground at a locality known as Turnbull, west of Tipton. The clay pipe was collected from the cultivated surface of an Indian village site near Alpaugh. Both were identified by the late Dr. T. T. Waterman of Fresno State College as having come from northeastern Arizona, or southeastern New Mexico. In my collection are also an ancient rusted iron axe and the badly rusted pieces of what was probably once a sword. These were excavated from an old *Choinok* Yokuts cemetery, six miles east of Visalia. These were the only articles of white manufacture recovered from approximately six hundred burials excavated at that site and so must have been traded to that village soon after the Spanish first visited the coast of California.

Obsidian, or volcanic glass, from Mono and Inyo Counties, is found at Indian village sites along the California coast.

Coast seashells are found as far east as Arizona and New Mexico. Dozens of other evidences of Indian trade could be cited. But we have more than archaeological evidence.

Yoimut, last survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe from the northeast shore of Tulare Lake, related to me that organized trade was carried on between her people and those on the coast.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 74 not Processed]

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

291 114 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the principal difference being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

[142]

[77]

302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

[283 237]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red, yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being carried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), supported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains Indians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh*, and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and comfortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p. 78]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joaquin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have them point out the plants which came with the white man and those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother, husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *hu-pahn'-man*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 in a shinny game, often placing the ball on a small mound of earth resembling a golf tee. We are told that in some instances the ball was buried in the earth and that the two who started the play were required to dig it from the ground with their clubs before striking it.

I remember well that when I was a boy in the San Joaquin Valley I visited relatives who used this last method of starting the play in shinny. It was with great surprise that I afterward learned that the Indians had used the same method many years before, and that we had probably obtained it from them. Many pioneers have been surprised to find primitive Indians playing shinny. Few of them ever realized that it was originally an Indian game and that the whites first learned it from the Indians. [177]

On May 2, 1943, I for the last time interviewed the late Thomas A. Baker, son of the founder of Bakersfield. He told me of playing shinny with the Yowlumne Indian boys who lived in a village located in Bakersfield between where the Santa Fe passenger station and Mercy Hospital are now located. It is typical of the pioneer accounts of Yokuts shinny: "I remember that I used to play shinny with the Indian children. They used a block of wood about the size of a tennis ball, and almost any old stick they could find for a club. They were surely hard to beat at shinny, and were as rough as could be in their play. I have always been amazed that the Indians learned to play shinny so well so soon after the white people came here."

In playing the game most like ours, which was called *Daht'-k'hoo Nun-coo'-ish*, the goals were established about four hundred yards apart and consisted of two holes in the ground. The play was begun in the middle of the field, equally distant from each goal. Sides were chosen and the play began. One side attempted to take the ball to one of the goals and the other side tried to take it to the opposite goal. The game might continue for four hours and was ended as soon as the ball was goaled by one side.

The game most commonly played and called *Kahdahduitch* (Kah-dah-doo'-itch), was in the form of a race, and was elaborately staged and carefully managed. A paid umpire was necessary in conducting this game. He was dressed in Indian finery, consisting of feather headdress and feather skirt. Compared with one of our present day football officials, he would have been a striking figure. [292]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"Sometimes the hunter would work an hour to get just ten feet closer to the deer.

"After men began to hunt with guns and could kill a deer at long range, stalking had to be discontinued, as several Indians were mistaken for deer and were shot. Such hunting was always dangerous, even when there were no guns in the country.

"An old Monache Indian once told me of an experience he had had, which I think is interesting. He had stalked a deer for several hours and had finally approached close enough so that he was preparing to shoot.

"Just as he was about to draw the bow he saw something move. He glanced to his right and there on a big rock, as he said, 'There's one mountain lion, he's going to jump right on me. Fool 'em deer too good—fool 'em mountain lion.

" 'Deer go one way, horns go one way, bow and arrows go one way, Injun go one way. Injun no more fool 'em deer!' "

TULE FISHING RAFTS

Pioneers who were on Tulare Lake in the early days say that loose tules used to float on the surface of the water and were drifted by the wind along the lee shore of the lake into thick, floating mats. These mats were sometimes three feet or more in thickness, thirty to fifty feet across, and from fifty to more than one hundred yards in length.

When hogs were placed upon the lake shores to fatten, the tule mats caused a great deal of trouble. They were buoyant enough to support several hogs. Sows with young pigs liked to nest on these mats. During the night it was not unusual for the wind to change direction and drift the mats some distance from shore. Then it was necessary to wade, or row a boat into the lake and take the sow and pigs from the mat.

After the mats had accumulated windblown dust and sand and trash they became known as floating islands. At time of low water they would rest upon the ground, but at time of high water they would separate from the bottom of the lake and float away. It is believed that it was from these floating tule mats and tule islands that the Indians first learned to make fishing rafts, and also the rafts which were used on the rivers. The fishing raft varied in length from ten feet to probably twenty, and in width from six feet to eight feet. They were probably from two to three feet, or more, in thickness and were lashed

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 168 not Processed]

CHAPTER X

ARTISTRY

YOKUTS BASKETRY DESIGNS

177 285 531 The most disappointing thing, and one which must be first considered in approaching the subject of basketry designs, is the influence which white "collectors" have had upon the prehistoric designs. Among the many collections which have been made throughout the eastern part of the San Joaquin Valley there are many forms of basketry which have been made to please enthusiastic, if not wise, collectors. This *white* influence reached its greatest depth when Indian basket makers were required to cover whiskey bottles and demijohns with stitched basket materials, copying designs from calico prints.

285 531 The rattlesnake was in olden times probably never shown with a head or tail. Only the pattern on the back of the snake was copied and very cleverly applied to the basket. The snake designs are probably most common of any and are certainly among the most realistic. The stitching of the coiled basket reproduces in a most life-like way the scales of the snake and allows these patterns to be reproduced, although in conventional form, quite true to life. The most common snake forms used are the rattlesnake, king snake, gopher snake, garter snake, and water snake.

The rattlesnake design was often used in connection with the "bottle neck" basket, which was at one time so common on Kaweah, Kern and Tule Rivers. A conventional ant, water skater and quail design is often used in connection with the rattlesnake. The full history of this design is obscured in the past. Quail is represented by a black mark resembling the feathers from the top of his head. Four rectangles form a perfectly charming water skater. Ants are represented by small square dots in groups, or in lines resembling ant trails.

285 531 825 776 The Yokuts rattlesnake was private secretary, or *Winatun*, for *Tihpiknits*, the Yokuts Saint Peter. It was the duty of the rattlesnake to crawl about and locate the Yokuts who were not behaving as good citizens. He sent their names to Tihpiknits, who called them in.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

142
177
302
516
755
304

Jennie, an aged **Wukchumne**, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a **Chumlus** at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 769 [775] Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear. What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 767 769 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

I am the last full-blood Chunut left. My children are part Spanish. I am the only one who knows the whole Chunut or Wowol language. When I am gone no one will have it. I have to be the last one.

All my life I want back our good old home on Tulare Lake. But I guess I can never have it. I am a very old Chunut [eighty-five years] now and I guess I can never see the old days again.

Now my daughter and her Mexican husband work in the cotton fields around Tulare and Waukena. Cotton, cotton, cotton, that is all that is left. Chunuts cannot live on cotton. They cannot sing their old songs and tell their old stories where there is nothing but cotton. My children feel foolish when I sing my songs. But I sing anyway:

Toke'-uh lih'-nuh *Wa'-tin-hin nah yo'*
(west side) (show me the straight path)
Hi-yo-um'-ne *a-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(my home (this is I) (the charm stone) (over you)
Indian village)

That is all. [Yoimut died in Hanford in 1933.]

THE END OF THE TRAIL

In leaving the topic of Yokuts Indians, which has been presented upon these pages in a rather informal manner, it is perhaps best that a brief summary be made of Indian character itself and of some things which vitally concern those Indians who still survive.

One of the alleged Indian characteristics is that of improvidence. It is claimed that the Indians generally do not look to the future and are not able to carry themselves through from season to season without being in want. How generally true this may have been in primeval days, I have no way of knowing. I do know, however, that those Yokuts Indians who still remained suffered less during the recent depression than many of their white neighbors. Their services were much in demand, they worked almost every day, and commanded the highest wages of all common laborers in their territory. It is not meant that they had the finest automobile in the locality, nor that they lived in the finest house, because they certainly did not. They had no automobile, and they camped under the trees, using tents and brush shelters, but they were comfortable and happy and were well supplied with provisions.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

thousand complexities it lives and moves in constant impingement upon simple dwellers on the earth. Much of that life and movement is regular and repetitive: the weather, floral, and faunal changes on a broad seasonal scale, and lightness and darkness, sun, moon, and stars, temperatures, animal and floral behaviors were on schedule in the narrow diurnal round. 182

The reiterative factor would seem to be an impressive one in the maintenance of cultural activity which has once been linked to it: the right time comes for a complex of behaviors—a ceremony—and that time is an ephemeral thing which the culture must meet in a series of events of immutable order. The natural schedule cannot be changed, and the ceremonies are performed—if they are to be performed at all—at the convenience of the environment, not the convenience of the people, so to say.

External reminders of cultural forms were met at any turn in the trail, on every hand, day in and day out, where animal creatures roamed or flew. They were living symbols of themselves in the religious and political systems of Yokuts-Mono culture, and as inescapable in their roles of superhuman contributors to the mode of Yokuts life as were any utilitarian plants or trees which provided materials for foods and tools. Inasmuch as the environmentally attuned parts of Yokuts-Mono culture were nuclear or thematic the natural features in which they had their basis may be said to have some dynamic force as cultural integrators in the functional sense.[22]

However, I am too uncertain as to how integration (as a cultural process) may work in actuality to wish to propose that cultural changes away from these forms could not occur. For example, the symbol might become more important than the actuality, e. g., the weazel's skin, the shaman's sacred talisman imbued with supernatural power, might usurp the shaman's concern with the beast itself in real life and in his dreams. Shifts in emphasis are unpredictable and entirely possible even while forms still are mechanically adjusted to external features. The mere fact that a thing—say Eagle—has one hundred connotations in Yokuts culture against one of Goldfinch does not preclude loss of Eagle's role in that culture, although the greater entrenchment is in his favor.[23]

I do not want to evade the psychological aspects of cultural integration for it seems to me that no full discussion of it as a dynamic or functional process can

22 See Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture.*

23 A somewhat amusing aside here: the appearance of metal money with Eagle thereon was in perfect conformity with aboriginal Yokuts thought. Eagle, as the symbol of the chiefly lineage and as the dream-helper for acquisition of wealth, was manifestly not only the rightful but the inevitable imprint for the invading White culture's coinage—as informants frequently and proudly pointed out.

[825
436]
177

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

> She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mots ahtawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."
>
> If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods failed.[42] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[42] See anecdote, p. 397.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

a practical control over the chief's decisions, or the activities of their younger fellow-citizens. But their position is not defined, they hold no office, their influence is entirely a matter of personality. This lack of interest in defininig, in the specific, in analysis, or in marshaled ideas, constituted a strong factor in the cultural mechanism; it kept the other factors in their respective positions. Ideas of the supernatural world interlocking with political practices were not weakened by a critical attitude in the public mind. I do not for a moment mean that there were not skeptical persons who consciously questioned the values of their own culture, but rather that the chances for such minds to occur were rare since there was no stimulus to critical thought. They not only had little chance to develop, but were rendered ineffectual in a cultural setting whose norm of thought was non-analytical.

It is to be noted that the term complex has not been used in connection with the integrated traits under consideration, for they do not form a complex in the usual sense of the word. The features might be so aligned as to form say, a totemic complex, for the sake of using a label, but such a segregation would be artificial from the native point of view. Moreover, the emphasis here is not upon the relationship within the group of traits forming the "complex" but rather the relationship of those traits with other phases of the total culture. That is, the importance lies not in the fact that the supremacy of Eagle is expressed in a number of different ways, but in the intra-cultural distribution of those expressions. Since integrations must occur in all cultures, those presented here are not intended to appear as anything unusual; they are merely pointed out. Yet integration may occur to a greater or lesser extent. Hence it may be asked: is there any correlation between degree of integration and strength of persistence of the complex?

The interaction of culture elements which make them self-persistent in a mechanistic sense does not rest in a static surrounding. There are constant minor changes taking place within the culture itself, or new elements migrate into it by diffusion. What internal or external factors upset the balance of the cultural mechanism, what new conformation the old culture pattern takes, can only be determined by specific cases. Unfortunately we have no case at present to demonstrate a situation in which the cultural mechanism changed its operations and produced a mutation of the old pattern. The changes brought about by white intrusion are at once too complex

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

182 177 and too devastating to make suitable exemplary material in the present study. But there is at least one historical case on record for Yokuts and Western Mono wherein the old social pattern was maintained in the face of a new and imposing cultural phenomenon, the disturbing influence of the Ghost Dance of 1870, which was diffused throughout the greater part of the San Joaquin valley. The medium and course of its diffusion, and the process of acculturation which it underwent, have been dealt with in a separate paper.[84] For our present purpose only its effects on political life are of interest, and in this case the effects were negative. The cultural mechanism in operation at the introduction of the Ghost Dance continued to function; new ceremonial items were converted into local concepts,[85] though the new dance form was accepted.

177 182 622 769 The phases of the Ghost Dance which bore upon the local political and social system were its method of diffusion and the social problems raised in holding its large assemblies. In both cases the chiefs were the controlling factors. The first news of the cult to reach the western slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains was brought by traders. No attention was paid to this. A few months later a North Fork Mono chief who had been converted to the messianic faith by a Paiute apostle visited Western Mono and Yokuts tribes of the San Joaquin river to proselytize. This he did by making public speeches, sending winatums about to near-by tribes, and "making" a Ghost Dance at a site in his own territory. The Paiute apostle was with him to preach the doctrine, but it was the chief who acted as instigator and ceremonial leader. The same process went on at the next point of diffusion toward the south, Eshom valley, in Waksachi territory. Here the actual enthusiasts were a number of Wobonuch and Entimbich singers. But regardless of their conviction that the Ghost Dance must be made, that the "father" and host of dead were returning, they proceeded in the usual manner to get permission from the local chiefs, Takac, Laoteu'i, and Hamate, to hold the dance. Takac called his brother, Kocowi, a powerful shaman, into conference and it was agreed to hold the dance. The preparations were made by Takac through his winatums though it was the group of singers who were the real instigators. Takac's winatums carried invitations a great

[84] Gayton, *op. cit.*

[85] These were briefly: the identification of the "father" with Eagle or Tuwawiya; the land of the dead described as that of a Yokuts-Western Mono myth; the use of the local sacred number six instead of five; use of totemic paint patterns; shamans as special communicators with the supernatural world; and turning into a log of wood if one fell asleep.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

177 182 622 769

distance south and west, they arranged for a food supply, and during the week of ceremonial managed the camp organization. In the meantime the singers visited near-by towns, spreading the new faith. When the dance was actually held, Takac, the chief, made a preliminary address; he told the assembled people why they were there and what they were going to do. Then he turned the meeting over to a Ghost Dance apostle, as he would have done had it been a local ceremonial such as a shaman's contest, huhuna dance, etc. Kocowi, the shaman, [756] presumably in the guise of a person familiar with the supernatural, occasionally addressed the multitude. Otherwise shamans took no active part in the dancing but remained by themselves while they exerted their occult powers to get news from the supernatural world. From time to time their winatums reported to the assembly what news the shamans had received.

The excessive size of the Ghost Dance assemblies might well have upset the normal ceremonial organization. The fanatical converts might have carried out their proselytizing without consulting the chiefs. The chiefs lost nothing of dignity or prestige in the face of Eagle's or Tuwawiya's (the "father's") expected return. In fact, the chiefs as ceremonial leaders not only were responsible for the holding of Ghost Dances but were responsible for their discontinuance as well. After a year or more of united effort by the greater part of the Yokuts-Western Mono population, the predicted results were apparently not forthcoming. The people were physically wearied, and were neglecting their hunting and household duties, all to no purpose. Seeing this the chiefs called their people together and in the interests of public welfare asked them to stop holding Ghost Dances. The cult was worn out, and except for individuals who occasionally sang the Ghost Dance songs in the privacy of their houses, was put aside as a thing of the past.

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance in south central California offers a specific case wherein the established cultural mechanism continued to function under the stress of a highly disturbing influence. Chiefs, shamans, and winatums, wielding their official and occult powers, carried on their customary rôles in political and social life. We cannot, of course, be certain that this persistence was due to the network of beliefs ramifying these institutions. But at least it can be said that the persistence occurred, and that the social traits involved were integrated with the mythology, lineage system, and ceremonies of Yokuts-Mono culture.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. B. Bate-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civilization", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aboriginal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

these two stocks; precisely to what extent, remains to be seen. All these languages, with the exception in a measure of the Shasta-Achomawi, are phonetically very simple and clear. In none of them do radical syllables appear to contain two consecutive consonants; in all full, simple, and naturally produced sounds predominate greatly over impure, unusual, or phonetically idiomatic ones. In all there is very little phonetic modification, especially of consonants, upon contact of stems in composition or derivation. Even the vowels undergo little change in this way except for some phonetic harmony in Maidu and Yokuts. It is evident that with this quality of phonetic simplicity fundamentally impressed upon the consciousness or rather unconsciousness of these languages, extensive and complicated phonetic variations such as characterize Indo-European and some of the larger American families, cannot so well occur between dialects.

While the comparatively slight diversification of dialects through alterations in them of the same radicals, is thus causally directly connected with the phonetic character of the Central Californian languages—slight as compared with the total degree of differentiation of dialects,—the origin of the corresponding opposite characteristic of great radical diversity is less easily explained even in a general way. It is probable that this radical differentiation is due largely to the general tendencies which have resulted in the diversification of the languages of California into so many families or apparent families, so far as this diversification may have arisen within California and not be due to successive immigrations of already distinct stocks. But what those diversifying tendencies are is not yet known. All that can at present be conjectured is that they are connected, as they are co-existent with, the tendencies toward phonetic and structural simplicity that are so deeply impressed upon almost all the Central Californian languages.

Borrowing of words from other families will account for the radical diversities between dialects only to a slight extent. It is becoming evident that there has been more or less borrowing between almost all the families of the Central Californian group. In a few cases the number of stems held in common by two or more stocks is in fact so large as to raise the question whether it

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

dom not point to their original unity. In most cases, however, the borrowed words constitute only a small portion of the total vocabulary of any family or dialect, and, what is more, they are as often stems denoting special ideas as they are words of more primitive meaning and considerable significance in linguistic comparisons. A second cause that has no doubt been operative in producing the differentiation of dialects, exactly to what degree is hard to determine, is the prevailing taboo of names of the dead. This in some cases probably has led to borrowing; but more frequently to the use of a stem properly belonging to a dialect and cognate in meaning to, but as a radical distinct from, the one which is temporarily or permanently dropped. This process, it will be seen, would explain a great number of diversities in Yokuts. It is however hard to imagine that this cause alone could have been productive even of only a large part of the extensive differentiation occurring. Where a single dialect shows a different radical from the other dialects of the same group, this explanation of the taboo as cause is reasonable enough; but when entire groups of dialects possess different radicals from other groups, it is evident that further factors must be taken into consideration.. And these factors still remain to be discovered.

Numerous instances could be given of the disappearance of stems in one or more of the dialectic groups of Yokuts, and of the appearance in these dialects of other stems, often utterly unchanged from their forms in other groups but with a different meaning.

For instance, the usual Yokuts word for house is t-i, varied occasionally to t-e and tei. In most Northern dialects this stem disappears and is replaced by xo. The usual meaning of xo is to be or live, which it appears to possess in all dialects. In addition it has probably given rise to the continuative suffix xo found in the Valley, Northern, and Kings River groups. In the Foothill dialects this stem xo acquires the additional meaning of sit, replacing entirely the Valley stem huloc.

The usual Foot-hill stem for sleep is eñt-im. In Paleuyami this is replaced by k'eneu, which is nothing but the usual Foothill radical k'ănu or k'anin, meaning to lie. In the Valley dialects sleep is expressed by woi, which is also the term for lie.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts-NS29

PHONETIC RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

*1907 194 The phonetic changes and equivalences of the Yokuts dialectic groups are few and simple. There are only three affecting entire groups with any frequency. These are, first a change of usual l to d, confined to the Tule-Kaweah group, within which it is universal; second the occurrence of ö and ü in the Tule-Kaweah and Buena Vista groups; and third the occurrence of ñ in the Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, and Poso Creek groups. It will be seen that all these phonetic specializations are confined to the Foot-hill division and that the northernmost group within this division, the Kings River, is free from them and agrees phonetically with the groups of the Valley division. While the first of these three mutations, the change of l to d, holds universally in the dialects in which it occurs, the substitution of the other sounds, ñ for n and ö and ü for e and i, is only partial in the dialectic groups in which they appear. But obversely ñ, ö, and ü are universally replaced by n, e, and i in those groups in which they do not appear.

The change of l to d in the Tule-Kaweah group requires no particular discussion. The fact that it is confined to only one of the six groups in the family, and that one a small group, shows this d to have been almost certainly a comparatively late development from a more original l. It is possible that this change of l to d is due to Shoshonean influence, for the Mono division of the Shoshonean family entirely lacks l. The case for this supposition is however not very strong, for the Kings River and Northern Yokuts groups are also in contact with the Mono and have retained l, whereas within the Tule-Kaweah group, which has made the change to d, only the tribes on Kaweah river, such as the Wükchammi, are in contact with Shoshoneans of the Mono division, the Tule river tribes, such as the Yaudanchi, having been in closer touch with the Shoshoneans of the distinct Kern River group, whose dialect contains l.

Of course d, corresponding to t as g does to k, appears in all Yokuts dialects irrespective of whether or not they possess l.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

As regards the second principal phonetic peculiarity, the appearance of ö and ü and the so-called impure vowels in the Tule-Kaweah and Buena Vista groups, it is almost certain that Shoshonean influence must be reckoned with. This ö and ü, and perhaps other impure o and u sounds, are characteristic of the Shoshonean family, being found in all its dialectic branches except the southernmost of those in southern California. The Shoshonean family occupies almost the entire territory extending along the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada, and thence south and westward through southern California to the ocean. The four purely Californian families with which the Shoshoneans come in territorial contact along this stretch, the Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, and Chumash, all show these impure ö and ü sounds. Moreover these four families are, so far as known at present, the only ones in California that possess these sounds. The case could not well be stronger for the territorial continuity of characteristics due to interinfluence. It is rendered still stronger by the circumstance that one division of the Miwok or Moquelumnan family, which is separated from the remainder of the stock, and out of reach of direct Shoshonean influence, in the northern Coast Range of the state, appears to lack these ö and ü sounds in question. Yokuts would appear to have been influenced less than the three other stocks, since the great majority of its dialects, including many of those in the foot-hills in direct contact with Shoshoneans, lack the ö and ü. The two dialectic groups possessing ö and ü probably had closer relations with the neighboring Shoshoneans than any other groups excepting that on Poso creek. The Tule-Kaweah group was in contact with both the Mono and Kern River divisions, and the Buena Vista group in close proximity to the Kern River, Kawaiisu, and Serrano divisions, besides being in direct contact with the northeasternmost Chumash. Why the Paleuyami of Poso creek, who were probably more intimately associated with Shoshoneans than any other Yokuts group, should lack these sounds is difficult to understand. The Paleuyami dialect, however, often pronounces its vowels, especially i, e, o, and u, with a quality somewhat different from that which they have in other dialects; i and u especially are open to the point of sounding impure. In the dialects lacking ö and ü, e and i always

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907-
NS29 Yokuts NS29

replace them. The other impure vowels, which, as has been stated of Yaudanchi, are frequently only induced by ö and ü, are replaced by the ordinary simple vowels in other dialects. Whether ö and ü are original in the words in which they occur, or only subsequent modifications of e and i, is not certain; but the great preponderance of dialects lacking ö and ü, and the proximity of the dialects possessing these sounds to Shoshonean territory, makes the latter explanation more probable; so that in this respect also the Valley and Kings River dialects seem to represent a more original state of the language than the southern Foot-hill groups.

The sound ñ, occurring in the three southern Foot-hill groups and replaced in all others by n, is the most difficult to understand. The evidence for influence of other families is not very strong. Mono and the other Shoshonean divisions in contact with the Yokuts, excepting the Kern River group and some of the southeastern Mono, all lack ñ, as does Chumash. This fact would accord with internal circumstances which tend to show that this sound is an original one in Yokuts. If this is the case, the ñ occurring in the Kern River division of Shoshonean is probably due to Yokuts influence.

Whereas ñ is invariably replaced by n in the Valley and Kings River dialects, n of these dialects is replaced by ñ in only a certain number of words in the three southern Foot-hill groups. Of a hundred Valley or Kings River words containing n medially, about forty southern Foot-hill words have ñ; of one hundred containing n finally, about twenty-five in the Foot-hill group replace it by ñ; of one hundred beginning with n, not more than five or ten show initial ñ in the southern Foot-hill groups. While there is thus a marked tendency for ñ to appear finally and especially medially, it is clear that its appearance is not entirely or directly due to its position in words. An examination of its relations to the vowels of the words in which it appears also brings out no definite conclusions. There is thus no apparent internal cause for the appearance of ñ. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that a stem containing ñ and appearing in several of the Foot-hill dialects invariably shows ñ and not n in all the dialects of these groups in which it occurs, makes it probable that this

*161 discussion of the population about 1850. It is preferable to discuss the entire region as a unit and, when necessary, pass to indirect methods of estimate.

The Pitkachi on the San Joaquin are mentioned in 1806 by Moraga, who allows 200 persons to their rancheria. The tribe appears again in the baptism record of Soledad Mission (MS in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley) according to which 205 Indians from "Picatche" were baptized from 1821 to 1824 and another 18 in 1831. An additional 23 came from rancherias in the vicinity, a total of 246. Another rancheria, Capicha, is referred to by Pico in 1815, who said it was uninhabited at that time, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains. As late as 1853 Wessels said that the Pitcache, together with the Noo-to-ah, a Mono group, numbered 500 to 600 souls. Kroeber mentions three villages remembered by modern informants.

If 246 Indians were baptized in one mission, the tribe as a whole must have numbered at least four times as many, or 1,000. If two fair-sized rancherias are mentioned by the Spanish observers, the entire tribe may well have possessed four or five, which again implies a population of 1,000. If there were approximately 300 survivors in 1853, by comparison with other open valley areas the original population must have been fully three or four times as great, or perhaps 1,200. If three rancherias were known to modern informants, they must formerly have been important places with anywhere from 200 to 400 people, again indicating a total of 1,000 for the tribe.

Concerning the Hoyima there are two references, one by Pico in 1826 and one by Rodriguez in 1828. Pico states merely that he attacked the rancheria and captured 40 gentiles and 1 Christian, a fact which in itself would not furnish a very significant clue to population. He also noted "mucha guesamenta y cueros casi frescos de caballada que habian matado."

The account by Rodriguez is more circumstantial. This soldier went along the San Joaquin River in late April of 1828. On the 24th he sent a group of men to scout the "rancheria de los Joyimas, que es adonde an comido la caballada." At dawn the next day they attacked the village, "que estaba en medio de los dos brazos del rio" (the San Joaquin west or northwest of Fresno). He captured 26 Indians and 27 animals (horses). Another 60 or 80 horses escaped "en el monte." At about this time a gentile captain came from a rancheria designated Guche or Getche, depending upon how one deciphers the handwriting of the manuscript. He "vino a los Joyimas a comer caballo." The rancheria named here is probably that of the Heuchi on the Fresno River. This gentile said there was another rancheria "mas arriba" at which there were horses. Rodriguez sent Simeon Castro to investigate. He found no one at the rancheria mentioned but went on 2 leagues to another rancheria, likewise deserted but containing the carcasses of 100 dead horses, which had been slaughtered and were about to be eaten. It was noted by Rodriguez that: "Estas 3 rancherias son una misma que es la de los Jaimes." It was also remarked that the rancheria was divided when the horses arrived in order to eat with less fear of detection. From this account it is clear that the Joyimas had at least three villages. Allowing somewhat over 300 persons each, the population of the group would reach 1,000.

●177 *161 262 The slaughtered horses open up an interesting field of speculation. It is clear that by 1828 large segments of the aboriginal population had entirely given up the sedentary ancestral mode of life in favor of an existence based upon stock raiding. To do this it was necessary to recast

village life completely—as is suggested by the fact that the rancheria was "divided" when the horses arrived. In order to catch the horses for food other horses were essential for rapid transportation to and from the coastal settlements. New arts and skills had to be learned, and new categories of labor had to be evolved.

Rodriguez found among the Hoyima as a whole 87 to 107 live horses (27 captured, 60-80 in the wilderness), which were presumably about to be killed and eaten, together with 100 animals already slaughtered. The total thus reached approximately 200. The question now is pertinent: how much food can be obtained from 200 horses? If we assume that each of these relatively light range animals weighed 800 pounds, we may deduct about 25 per cent to account for bones, hide, certain of the viscera, and other inedible parts, leaving 600 pounds which the Indians could and did consume. The aggregate is 120,000 pounds of meat. If this meat was dried and preserved, according to general practice, it was sufficient to supply 329 persons the equivalent of one pound of fresh meat per day for one calendar year. If it had to be consumed immediately or within a few days, and if every man, woman, and child ate 20 pounds apiece, it was adequate for 6,000 people. If the entire tribe, not merely one rancheria, divided the meat into equal shares, and if the tribe numbered 1,000 persons, then the share of each individual amounted to 120 pounds. Whether these figures are strictly accurate is irrelevant. They merely emphasize that a quite sizable group must have been concerned. We may therefore regard the Hoyima as being as large a tribe as the Pitcache, and estimate that the population was at least 1,000.

The remaining two tribes in the valley proper, as listed by Kroeber and others, were the Heuchi and the Chauchila. They occupied the north bank of the Fresno River and the distributaries of the Chowchilla River. The ethnographic data include no more than one or two villages for each tribe. The Heuchi are referred to by Rodriguez, who says that the rancheria of the "Jeuche" was completely deserted. However, since it was the principal tribal village, it must have contained at least 200 persons. The Chauchila were also noticed by Rodriguez, who says that at "Chausila" he "captured" 142 people and "killed many." If we concede that as many escaped as were captured or killed, there must have been fully 400 in all.

The Nupchenches, although they are merely mentioned as a possible tribe by Kroeber (Handbook, p. 485) and are doubtfully recorded by Schenck (1926), occupied an important position in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, the failure of Kroeber and Schenck to consider them seriously makes it necessary to set forth in some detail the information about them contained in the Spanish reports.

These natives were distributed along the San Joaquin River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately the mouth of the Merced (see map 4, area 5A). The first mention of them is by Moraga in the diary of 1806. He found two rancherias, Nupchenche with 250 people and Cutucho with 400 souls which was "junto a la primera llamada Nupchenche." This means that Cutucho was close to but at that time not necessarily part of Nupchenche. From the description in the diary Nupchenche was situated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough in T9S, R12E, and this is almost exactly where Schenck places it on his map (Schenck, 1926, p. 133). The next visitor who left a record was José Dolores Pico in 1815. On November 7 he left San Luis Gonzaga in western Merced County (in approximately T10S, R8E) and went east to the

*761 way to the Colorado and Garcés found at least one deserting soldier living with the Indians. It is quite possible that decline of population had already begun as early as 1776.

After traveling 4-1/2 leagues Garcés found another rancheria (no. 5), at which he spent the night of May 2-3. This must have been somewhere near the hamlet of Woody at the southern boundary of T25S, R29E. On May 3 he moved another 2-1/2 leagues, still north, to reach the White River near or slightly to the west of the village of White River in T24S, R29E. Here he camped at a rancheria (no. 6) of 150 souls. On May 4, having reached his farthest point north, he visited another rancheria (no. 7) half a league east. At rancheria no. 6 he found an Indian who was a fugitive from the coast and also heard that two Spanish soldiers had been killed for
●[179] molesting Indian women. The contact with the whites was therefore clearly established. Stephen Powers (1877), who was in the San Joaquin Valley in the decade of 1850 says that "on White River there are no Indians, neither have there been any for many years." Here again is an indication of depopulation at a very early date.

On May 5 Garcés started to retrace his steps southward, reaching at 2-1/2 leagues the previous rancheria (i.e., no. 5). From here he must have diverged somewhat eastward of his northbound trail for at 2 leagues he saw another rancheria (no. 8) "to the east" which he had not seen on the way up. This probably was toward the eastern side of T26S, R20E. Tnen, he says, he went southeast 3 leagues to Poso Creek. This would put him on Poso Creek near the center of township T27S, R30E, a point about 9 miles airline above his place of crossing on May 2. Here he found a rancheria (no. 9), the chief of which told him about another rancheria (no. 10) to the east where a Spanish renegade lived with an Indian wife. The following day, May 6, he started out again south or southwest and got lost in the hills of upper Poso Creek. In these hills between Poso Creek and the Kern River he found another rancheria (no. 11) of "more than 100 souls." This was probably in the northern part of township T28S, R30E. Finally on May 7 he reached the Kern 1 league above his first crossing. His first crossing had been accomplished 2 or 3 miles below the mouth of the canyon hence he must have come out very close to the mouth. He then went downstream to the rancheria where he had crossed (no. 1) but he did not stop here. He continued down the river for 2 leagues to a rancheria he had not seen before (no. 12) and which had "some 150 souls."

Two leagues downstream from rancheria no. 1, or about 3 leagues below the mouth of the canyon would have put him at a point roughly 5 to 6 miles east-northeast of Bakersfield, not at the site of the city, as is supposed by Coues (1900, p. 299). On May 8 he went 3 leagues south-southwest, then turned and traveled 6 leagues southeast and east to the Tehachapi. These distances and directions plotted on the map place him just at the mouth of Tejon Creek.

To summarize the rancherias mentioned: Garcés
[361] saw four villages on the Kern in territory of the Paleuyami or Yauelmani (nos. 1, 2, 3, 12), six on Poso Creek or minor watercourses to the north thereof (nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11), all Paleuyami, and two on White River (nos. 6, 7) in the territory of the Kumachisi.

The size of these villages has been subject to some debate. Garcés cites two with 150 persons and one with 100, but Gifford and Schenck think that he specifies population only for the largest places. The other nine would therefore be smaller. These authors, however, put the average village size at about 60 (750 people in 12 villages).

melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or 1/4. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may pa?a seo

2. ke wey may xo ke we may xo pa?a seo(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

Other songs of this sort are the Holi Holi, the Rattlesnake Ceremony Song, and the Sopas Songs. When the informant was asked to sing the Sapagay Song he did so, and when he was asked about the meaning of the words, he told the entire story quoted in text here. The assumption was that the hearer of the song knew the story to begin with. Also it became apparent that there was no hard-and-fast distinction between the lyrics and the story behind the song. 533 538

There were songs which were fairly self-explanatory: the Handgame Song (#3) involves a bone hidden in one of the hands. The idea of the game is that one player will be singing the goading song while his opponent will try to guess which hand the bone is in. The Morning Song (#7) is simply a description of the morning star. The Rain Song (#8) is sung in the rain-making ceremony. The "thunder rock" (unuk) is partially covered with water by the shaman in order to produce mild rains. If the rock is covered with water, torrential rains will ensue. There were a fairly large number of hand-game songs, mostly similar in rhythm and melody to those which are given. There is certainly more variety and complexity in these than is found in grass-game songs among the Miwok and the more northerly tribes. It is unfortunate that there was not more time to devote to getting the meaning of the words, especially since there is a group of songs in which allusion figures so importantly.

General Considerations

One of the most significant changes in Tachi and Central Valley music in general is related to the roles played by the Indians in the economy of the state. As most of them obtain a large percentage of their income from employment as farm labor, there is a good deal of contact with other Indians, and the picture at the Lemoore reservation is one of a constantly shifting and mobile population. One of the effects of this condition is the exchange of songs. The Tachis sang songs which were identified as Choyniami and Wachihit Yokuts and Mono and Squaw Valley in origin. The Tulare Lake Song (#1) and the Handgame Song (#6) are certainly Yokuts songs, but are not in Tachi dialect. Many of the songs have no English gloss because only a part of the song was understood by the singer. Songs composed entirely of nonsense syllables are absent among the Tachi, and probably in the entire Yokuts area. It should be said that the borrowing of songs is not confined to the San Joaquin Valley in California nor is it a new thing, although it is certain that the tempo of exchange has increased. A sitting-down song sung by a Pomo informant is included; this song is almost identical with a song sung by a Southern Sierra Miwok Indian from near Yosemite a year after the Pomo version was collected. Since the Miwok had died before this writer could get a gloss for the song, it was unknown whether the song was Miwok or Pomo. 533 177 178

With the exchange of songs between people of dissimilar linguistic affiliations it would seem that nonsense syllable songs would be very common. This is not the case with the Tachis in that at least partial, and occasionally incorrect, meanings are known for all the songs. It seems probable that

[177] [178] songs identified by the Indians as "Mono" and "Squaw" Valley" are actually from distant Yokuts groups. The partial understanding of the lyrics argues for this, while Shoshonean or Athabascan songs would not be understood at all. 533

Tachi music is distinctive in California in a number of ways. Whereas [171] the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok groups feature a quite wide melodic spread, the Tachi seldom have more than an octave. This characteristic is again in contrast with the extremely restricted spreads which occur in northeastern California. There is no syncopation in Tachi or northeastern music, but it does occur in the northwest California groups.

Another feature is connected with the relative length of time the Yokuts and other groups have been in contact with European culture. None of the [79%] ceremonies which were performed in the earlier days are still performed in the Tachi area. The music has been dissociated from the ceremonies. However, in the northwest groups the White Deerskin Dance, as well as a number of the other rituals, are still performed with the appropriate songs.

All of the Tachi songs recorded showed a strongly syllabic character. This was true of the 1903, the 1940, and the 1957 recordings. It is also [171] the case with the northeastern California, but not with the northwestern California music. Syllables such as pa, ta, wa, na, and ka are extremely common and are used in many cases as nonsense syllables to fill out the lines.

The variation which occurred was quite extensive, vowels in particular showing much more variation than occurs in speech. Since the two-line song predominated, it is difficult to make any statement about the variation in the order of line repetition. Melodic variation was frequent but showed no significant direction. This is not surprising if we remember that the Tachi music is only changing by being forgotten. There has to be some consensus on the desirability or undesirability of variation in order to give direction to a musical tradition.

PREFACE

Two sections of the present study are by Stanley S. Newman: "Type Myth" and "Linguistic Aspects of Yokuts Style." For all other parts of the monograph A. H. Gayton is responsible.[1]

The study comprises three main parts: Part I is concerned with general considerations; Part II contains fifty-five hitherto unpublished Yokuts and Western Mono myths and tales collected in English by Gayton; Part III consists of abstracts, together with a comparative analysis, of the same fifty-five new tales and also of one hundred and four myths previously secured from the Yokuts and Western Mono and published by a number of authors. The three principal published collections thus utilized are two on the Yokuts: A. L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, and F. F. Latta, California Indian Folklore; and pertinent parts of one Western Mono collection: E. W. Gifford, Western Mono Myths. Minor collections and even single published myths also have been abstracted for comparison. Also included in the abstracts are outlines of tales secured by Newman in Yokuts texts and not yet published. In order to make certain comparisons more effective there occasionally appear abstracts from other sources, notably those of the Growing Rock myths from S. A. Barrett's Pomo Myths and C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Myths and Tales. To Mrs. Voegelin, Dr. Willard Z. Park, Dr. Leslie Spier, and Mr. Maurice Zigmond, who generously placed their unpublished material at our disposal, the authors owe their deepest thanks.

In spite of the fact that our Yokuts myths were recorded independently by two trained persons, it is doubtful that the collection is fully representative. Neither worker was specifically engaged in myth collecting. The popularity of certain tales, which came forth again and again from informants of various local groups, is highly verified, but the extension of the Yokuts roster is indicated only by Newman's series of Yauelmani stories. And Yauelmani knowledge, tinged by Shoshonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.

Bearing in mind the limitations of the material, we have made such interpretations as we can of the linguistic and narrative style of the myths, of their local differences that have cultural significance, and of their relation as a whole to the mythology of adjacent areas.

[ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED — ANALYST]

May 31, 1937

---

[1]Newman's work was done while making a linguistic study of Yokuts dialects sponsored by the Committee on Research in Native Languages, 1930-31. Gayton obtained tales incidental to ethnographic field work for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1925-29, aided by a National Research Council Fellowship, 1928-30, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and